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ABSTRACT

The continued expansion of mass higher education and the increased number of programs waiving traditional admissions criteria have resulted in a reevaluation of college admissions practices. Significant debate focuses on the implications of open admissions programs and the need for new forms of higher education to serve a more diverse population. This review presents an examination of the issues based on an annotated bibliography of 43 items published during the last 3 years. (WVM)

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OPEN ADMISSIONS in Higher Education

ERIC CLEARINGHOUSE ON HIGHER EDUCATION
The George Washington University
1 Dupont Circle, Suite 630
Washington, D.C. 20036

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by

Carol Herrnstadt Shulman

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FOREWORD

The continued expansion of mass higher education and the increased number of programs waiving traditional admissions criteria have resulted in a reevaluation of college admissions practices. Significant debate focuses on the implications of open admissions programs and the need for new forms of higher education to serve a more diverse population. This review presents an examination of the issues based on an annotated bibliography of 43 items published during the last 3 years. Carol Shulman, a Research Associate at the Clearinghouse, has attempted to gather all significant literature, but the great interest about this issue indicates that much more literature will be forthcoming.

The sixth in a series of reviews on various aspects of higher education, this paper represents one of several types of Clearinghouse publications. Others include commissioned papers and shorter reviews based on recent significant documents found both in and outside the ERIC collection. In addition, the current research literature of higher education is abstracted and indexed for publication in the U.S. Office of Education's monthly issue, *Research in Education*. Readers who wish to order ERIC documents cited in the bibliography should write to the ERIC Document Reproduction Service, P.O. Drawer 0, Bethesda, Maryland 20014. When ordering, please specify the ERIC document (ED) number. Payment for microfiche (MF) or hard/photo copies (HC) must accompany orders of less than $10.00. All orders must be in writing. A list of recent Clearinghouse publications appears at the end of this review.

Carl J. Lange, *Director*
ERIC Clearinghouse on Higher Education
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REVIEW

Introduction

In the belief that equal opportunity for higher education is a right guaranteed to all citizens, the American public is calling for greater access to colleges and universities. Open admissions is being seriously considered as the method of answering this demand. Current literature suggests a working definition of open admissions: a system in which a high school graduate is not prevented by his past academic performance, his financial situation or other socioeconomic factors from receiving the education he wants. Instead, the institution he attends gives him the support he needs to obtain a degree.

If implemented on a wide basis, open admissions may revolutionize higher education. The authors included in this bibliography are aware of this possibility. They discuss the changes that an open admissions policy would cause in selection procedures, institutional standards, certification functions, cirricular organization and the shape of higher education institutions themselves. These writers are divided between those who foresee negative consequences of widespread open admissions and those who view universal higher education as a responsible method of effecting social change.

A special understanding of higher education's role in society underlies the discussion on open admissions. Open admissions advocates believe higher education institutions should use the admissions process to provide equal opportunity as well as to evaluate academic potential (34, 42). Higher education institutions could become a prime agent to promote social change while educating young people for useful roles in a technological society (4,5,7,14,19,22,23,28,29,35,40). Vice Chancellor Timothy Healy's explanation of how the City University of New York's [CUNY] open admissions plan may change the City is representative of this view:

> CUNY's open admissions policy is a good example of an institution taking a clear social position: accepting a public responsibility to serve as poverty interrupter for New York. . . . [Also at stake] is the unity of the city itself. For the university can really change the streets (23).

Faith in higher education's ability to effect social change is not a revolutionary concept. Henry Steel Commager notes the early American belief that "Education was to be . . . the chief instrument for the regeneration of the human race."[1] Several authors view open admissions as the next step in the evolution of higher education from an aristocratic privilege to a democratic right (14,17,41,42,43). However, some authors argue that the current system of admissions–based on proven academic merit–best fulfills the American tradition: ". . . . it was the rise of meritocracy that enabled democracy to supplant elitism" (8). Logan Wilson would continue the merit system of admissions, but suggests:

> . . . equality of opportunity need not mean identity of opportunities. . . . By confusing [these two concepts], we can mistakenly homogenize the rich diveristy of American higher education. (8)

While all authors may not completely endorse open admissions, all agree there is a need for equality of educational opportunity.

Warren Willingham (42,43) views the concept of equal opportunity in higher education as evolving from the establishment of inexpensive state institutions to a broader plan that calls for the elimination of all barriers to higher education. Richard Ferrin (20) identifies four such barriers: financial, academic, motivational, and geographic. The Carnegie Commission on Higher Education (9) outlines steps to deal with some of these barriers in its proposal for providing universal access to higher education: encourage special compensatory programs on the college level and improve precollege educational opportunities; provide full access to at least some institutions in state university systems; and develop community colleges within commuting distance of all students. Other writers have considered the political (32), legal (24,30), and financial (5,19,32) problems involved in providing broad access to advanced degrees.[2]

Since open admissions is understood to serve a social purpose, educators and politicians want to know which segments of society would obtain higher education for the first time through such a program. William Turnbull (30) believes that students from the lower three-fourths of the high school class, previously barred for financial reasons, would go on to post-secondary education. It is generally agreed that racial minorities would constitute a large part of this group (13,30). In advocating open admissions, the National Urban League suggested that this policy would provide new opportunities for minority youth (39). However, open admissions should not be viewed merely as a

1 "Social, Political, Economic, and Personal Consequences," in Universal High Education, edited by Earl J. McGrath. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966.

2 See, Shulman, Carol H., *Financing Higher Education. Review 3.* ERIC Clearinghouse on Higher Education, March 1971. ED 048 519 MF-$0.65, HC-$3.29.

method for achieving racial equality (18); CUNY's experience indicates that a significant number of white students will also take advantage of open admissions (18,34).

Evaluation Criteria

There is extensive debate over the problem of how to evaluate students for admission to college. The traditional selective tools--standardized tests and high school records--are under attack by those who want to change admissions policies (8,22,37,40). Alexander Astin bases his criticism of the traditional admissions criteria on his nationwide survey of academic achievement and retention in college (8). He finds:

> As predictors of the individual student's chance of success in college, test scores and school grades are subject to considerable error. Thus, other criteria could probably be employed in the admissions process with only minor unfavorable effects on the level of academic performance and on the dropout rate.

In light of his experience with specially admitted students at Cornell University Robert Scott (37) agrees with Dr. Astin's findings. He reports that other criteria--e.g., motivation and leadership ability--affect college performance. The "Newman Report" (33) suggests that outside experience should also be considered in the admissions process. B. Alden Thresher (40) criticizes the typical admissions office reliance on predictive tools, since this dependency overlooks the diversity of human talent. He believes that current trends in education indicate that:

> talent. . . is not something stumbled upon and found. . . . it is an artifact, something that can be produced.

These views are contested by authors who believe test scores accurately predict college grades for both black and white students and should be used to guide the student into the appropriate educational program (2,5,10,26,38). Julian Stanley (38) argues that the highly selective institution can help a small number of marginally less qualified students by providing substantial academic and economic aid; but that less selective institutions are better equipped to offer significant help to large numbers of inadequately prepared students.

Some Selection Procedures

Putting theory into practice, the City University of New York established an open admissions policy beginning September 1970, and developed generous criteria for admissions (12): graduating high school seniors are placed in one of 10 groups according to their percentile rank in class or their high school grade average, whichever is higher. Those in the top half of their class or those having an average of at least 80 percent are admitted to a senior college; all other applicants may attend community colleges with an option to transfer to a senior college after completing the 2-year program. Approximately 9,000 new students who would not have attended CUNY have been admitted under this system (25).

In planning its new admissions procedures, New York City's Board of Higher Education incorporated a program of substantial assistance for its entering freshman:

> The maintenance and enhancement of educational quality will require the initiation and expansion of the programs of supportive services, including counselling, remedial assistance, tutoring and financial aid which were recommended by the [University Commission on Admissions]. We do not propose to admit students with inadequate preparation for college work merely to have them fail at the end of a semester or a year. (12)

This determination accords with the concept of open admissions that has been under discussion in this bibliography: the college is solicitous about the student's welfare *after* he has been allowed to enter the institution.[3]

Proposals for different types of selection procedures range from giving special consideration to minority students (8,22,37), to using a lottery system to allocate students among colleges (3,5). Winton H. Manning (5) proposes "ACORN '80," a system of random admissions by which colleges would choose their students from a pool of applicants. Alexander Astin suggests that a lottery system could be used to adjust supply-demand problems within a given higher education system (3). In Edmund Gordon's plan, one-half of the student body would be chosen at random and one-half according to established criteria (5).

A Question of Quality

The issue of institutional quality and standards is a major area of controversy between those who favor open admissions and those who oppose it. Opponents' (1,8,15,18) discussions indicate that they measure an institution's quality, at least in part, by the precollege academic ability of the students who are admitted: this "standard" plus prescribed experiences, guarantees successful graduates (31). It is argued that not all students have the ability or the need to complete a program in traditional higher education. Logan Wilson projects the consequence of pressures to institute broader admissions policies:

> An individual institution that has traditionally selected students to fit its resources and programs. . . may feel strongly impelled to take a more widely representative group of young people and adjust its programs to fit their professed

3 At CUNY's request, the American Council on Education is conducting research related to the first year of the open admissions program.

> needs and wishes. As the college honestly desires to maintain its autonomy and distinctiveness while also seeking to extend its usefulness to society, it may be caught in a real dilemma. (8)

Amitai Etzioni (18) fears that lower educational quality will result if an institution attempts to redefine itself in the image of its less prepared students. Vice President Agnew joins in this concern about the effect of open admissions policies:

> I do not feel that our traditional four-year institutions should lower their sights or their standards for the sole purpose of opening their doors wider. (1).

Using the critics' guideline of precollege ability, Seymour Hyman of the City University of New York cites evidence to prove that educational standards have been maintained under open admissions (25). Under the new procedure, all entering freshmen (35,000) took standard achievement tests: about half of these students needed "basic academic remediation in varying degrees." But only 9,000 of these students would not have qualified under the old criteria. Perhaps more significantly, some of those who would not have been admitted earlier were found adequately prepared for college work (see also 36).

Open admissions advocates believe that institutional quality should be measured by the impact the institution has on the development of its students (8,23,39). Alexander Astin (8) argues:

> Standards have to do with the performance levels that the institution demands before it will certify that the student has passed certain courses or completed certain requirements for the degree. It is true that fewer students are likely to succeed. . . if very high performance standards are maintained at the same time that admissions criteria are relaxed. Nevertheless, standards of performance can still be defined and maintained, whatever changes are made in the admissions process.

The "Newman Report" (33) cites the long history of respected state universities with unrestricted admissions policies in answer to the concern over lower standards under open admissions. Others (21,25,36,) rely on faculty integrity to maintain standards, and Kenneth B. Clark (14) predicts that the City University's open admissions program will be judged successful to the degree its remedial programs prepare students for a "single standard of academic performance." Evaluating the City University's program, two educators (34) also advise that open admissions will work if its remedial programs succeed—presently, they find wide variation in the quality of these programs.

Ability Tracking

The policy of ability tracking is an issue in the debate over standards. When institutional quality is measured by the quality of the academic program, opponents of open admissions question the amount of challenging education that better prepared students would receive in classes shared with less prepared students (1,18,21). Nathan Glazer (21) suggests that "The concentration of students of high ability, aided by a concentration of teaching talents, may encourage yet higher development." However, Alexander Astin (4) finds that the hierarchy of selectivity in higher education exists for reasons of prestige rather than education. He points out that some data suggest ability tracking does not benefit either the more able or the less able student. B. Alden Thresher (40), for educational reasons, also questions the wisdom of ability tracking.

Opponents of ability tracking—particularly the sorting of students between community and 4-year colleges—fear that this system may result in racial and class segregation (8,15,31). Robert O'Neil notes the concentration of minority students at community colleges, and the City University's plans indicate concern with achieving ethnic balance throughout the system (11,12,13). William Turnbull (30) questions whether quality can be achieved without broad representation from society. Other investigators (2,19) are also aware of the different values placed on education in a 2-year as opposed to a 4-year institution, and suggest that these differences be eliminated through a variety of techniques that would make the first 2 years of college uniform throughout a system. However, the Carnegie Commission's proposals (9) for universal access incorporate a hierarchal educational system. Vice President Agnew (1) believes that a stratified system would provide better education opportunities for poorly prepared students.

Certification

Since a college diploma is generally regarded as an introduction to widened opportunities in the job market and society, advocates of the merit system of admissions suggest that open admissions will devalue the degree (1,30). If the quality of the education received is questioned by prospective employers, the certifying aspect of a college diploma may be jeopardized. In fact, Logan Wilson believes this situation has already arisen (30). However, other authors argue that a college should not be in the business of certifying people for employers at all (3,8,21,33).

Concern over certification for jobs also involves the question of compulsory higher education. The Carnegie Commission (9) makes a clear distinction between universal attendance (compulsory) and universal access (voluntary). Martin Trow (31) finds evidence of compulsory higher education at colleges and universities and believes this de facto involuntary attendance is one of the contributing causes to campus unrest. Others (2,30,42) believe that traditional higher education will not satisfy all new students and should not become compulsory simply because it is the only postsecondary option available. How-

ever, two papers (17,19) advocate universal higher education for 2 years beyond high school. This suggests compulsory education.

The theory of open admissions has caused educators to reexamine the organization and content of the college curriculum in light of the new students whom higher education may serve. In an analogy to manufacturing, W. Todd Furniss (31) describes the "production model" of higher education:

> . . . the traditional liberal arts program has sought raw material that shows promise of being converted to the desired finished product. Thus, it requires of its students a level of skill and knowledge that can be raised to acceptable levels in the time available; it has similarly sought students whose attitudes and behavior are sufficiently developed along promising lines so that the planned reinforcement will be possible; and . . . it has sought students who can afford the necessary time.

Some authors believe open admissions should not radically alter this production model. Amitai Etzioni's term "expanding admissions" (18) suggests the admissions changes these reformers envision. The traditional college would admit more disadvantaged students into its regular student body, providing them with the necessary academic and financial aid (5,11,12,13,18,22,29,37,38,40) –although the "Newman Report" (33) believes these reforms are not far-reaching enough. There is little suggestion in these discussions that the form and function of education would be fundamentally different from what it is now.

More radical changes are called for by those who believe a wide variety of postsecondary options should be made available (6,8,22,29,30,31,41). These proposals differ from each other according to the concept of excellence which underlies them. K. Patricia Cross (17) predicts that true equality of educational opportunity will be achieved when the belief that there is only one form of educational excellence has changed to a situation in which there are several equal "cores of excellence," so that every student has a fair opportunity to develop his talents. She finds a conflict between the traditional concept of excellence and the innovative aspect in special education programs for the disadvantaged. These programs may work with the needs of the students, but:

> The goal. . . is to change the student so that he is acceptable to traditional education . . . .

Logan Wilson (8) speaks for the traditional concept of excellence:

> If excellence, or excelling others, is the common goal in education, then by definition the vast majority must necessarily fall short of that objective. . . . Education for competence. . . is also an essential purpose in our system of higher education, and we can offset the sense of failure for large numbers of young people by adjusting opportunities to fit their capabilities.

This position, with its distinction between "superior" and "inferior" educational programs and students, is very influential. At Federal City College in Washington, D.C., which admits students on a "first come, first served" basis, traditional courses dominate the curriculum and innovations have not been well received (35). Federal City's students, "new" to higher education, see college as an opportunity for a better career and feel a need to conform to employer expectations in terms of curriculum.

Several writers, however, look forward to a time when there will be increased diversity of postsecondary opportunities. Their proposals call for more subdivisions in the educational unit and more differentiation in the organization and content of what is studied.[4] W. Todd Furniss (31) suggests the option of the "ad hoc model" of education which "[foregoes] some of the advantages of replicability and predictability in return for flexibility–or sometimes, for survival." This is the basic model for student-run experimental colleges. Closely allied to this concept is Martin Trow's (31,41) plan for "consent units"–study groups formed by faculty and students who share an interest in a particular area of study. The "Newman Report" (33) also recommends the development of "new enterprises" in higher education that would include "a single mission or set of related missions," and perhaps a different conception of what a campus is. William Birenbaum (6) believes that while a wide range of subjects should be offered, higher education in the future should bring together diverse elements of the modern urban community.

Conclusion

A resolution of the debates over the forms postsecondary education should take requires more knowledge of what students want and expect from higher education. The Federal City College experience, for example, suggests that the students there seek a career-oriented education. The forthcoming American Council on Education study of the City University's first year of open admissions should indicate what their students want from higher education and perhaps suggest future directions for open admissions programs.

The comments in the bibliography that follows demonstrate that the advent of open admissions has already influenced our understanding of who should receive higher education, what should be studied, and what role educational institutions should have in our society. The general agreement that society must provide equality of educational opportunity implies that change will occur.

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4 For an annotated review of selected models see James Harvey's *Reforming Undergraduate Curriculum: Problems and Proposals.* Washington, D.C.: ERIC Clearinghouse on Higher Education, March 1971. ED 048 518, MF-$0.65, HC-$3.29.

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Agnew, Spiro T., "Spiro T. Agnew on College Admissions," *College Board Review* 75, Spring 1970.

In a speech delivered on April 13, 1970, the Vice President discussed his objections to open admissions and racial quota systems and cited educators who support his views (see Item 15). He rejects the open admissions concept because he fears it lowers the quality of education and devalues the college diploma. In carrying out these practices, he believes the universities wrongly subordinate themselves to "social goals for which they are ill-designed and ill-equipped." He suggests that compensatory programs for underprepared, late-blooming, and underachieving students should be developed at public expense. These students would be given educational opportunity at the community colleges and in special preparatory schools. He points out that the Nixon Administration has promised students with demonstrated talent and ability they will not be denied higher education for financial reasons.

2. Ashby, Eric. *Any Person, Any Study. An Essary on Higher Education in the United States.* The Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1971.

The author discusses the future prospects of American higher education in light of the almost inevitable trend toward "universal higher education, equality of opportunity, proliferation of graduate education and research, [and] corporate involvement in helping to resolve the dilemmas of society." He is concerned over American higher education's ability, under universal higher education, to deal with problems in three areas: (1) the already large dropout rate; (2) an increasing number of students who are not seriously motivated or purposeful; and (3) the difference between postsecondary education and traditional higher education. As a British educator, he compares problems faced by American educators with those found in Great Britain. He speculates on the implications of the possible directions higher education may take: universal access by the year 2000 and a college population of about 14 million students; a moratorium on expansion caused by changing student values; revolutionary change at the university; and "deliberate adaptation to social change."

3. Astin, Alexander W., "Letters," *Science* 167, February 20, 1970.

In this letter, Dr. Astin defends his suggestion that a lottery should be used to select students for college admission (*Science* November 21, 1969). He reiterates arguments made elsewhere (8) concerning the educational function of a college. With the wider acceptance of universal higher education, he suggests that the admissions process will be used to "sort out" students to appropriate institutions. The lottery would then be used to adjust the supply-demand problem among institutions in a given state or city system. A lottery system would also result in more careful evaluation of the student's performance. For the researcher, even a partial lottery system would provide an opportunity to examine "the possible advantages of many student-environment combinations."

4. Astin Alexander W. "Open Admissions and Programs for the Disadvantaged." Address presented at the 26th National Conference on Higher Education, Chicago, March 16, 1971. HE 002 195 (RIE Sept.), MF-$0.65, HC-$3.29.

The author suggests that the debate over the merits of open admissions must take place in the broader context of the aims of higher education and its effects on the structure of society. Assuming that higher education's principal purpose is "to improve the general level of intellectual performance in our society," he examines three potential models of education: the "egalitarian" system that would raise the mean level of performance in society; the "elitist" system in which the number of very able students would be maximized, but little would be done to raise the educational level of low performers; and the "remedial" plan in which all would be admitted to postsecondary education and most resources invested in low performers so that there would be little growth in the number of high performers. He discusses some of the issues raised by proponents and opponents of open admissions and special programs for disadvantaged students. After reviewing the justifications for a hierarchy of selective institutions he concludes, "it is probably safe to assume that the system is perpetuated not for educational reasons but for reasons of competition and status." Some data even suggest that ability tracking benefits neither the bright nor the dull student. He also argues against the predictability function of selective institutions and the perhaps false concomitant assumption that college grades accurately reflect what is learned. To solve the college's financial problems and to eliminate its role as a certifying agent for prospective employers under an open admissions system, he suggests that able students accelerate their education through Advanced Placement Examinations and take examinations for employment. The college then could devote more of its resources to educating the less able student.

Dr. Astin also discusses these issues in "A Researcher's Proposal for Changes in Higher Education." *Educational Record*, Summer 1970.

5. *Barriers to Higher Education.* A College Entrance Examination Board Colloquium, Racine, Wisconsin, June 24-25, 1970. New York: CEEB, 1971. HE 002 199 (RIE Oct.) MF-$0.65.

This volume includes the seven major papers and five responses that formed the basis for the June conference. Warren Willingham examines the current understanding of educational opportunity and its implications for the future organization of higher education (42). Three papers focus on the uses of tests in the admissions process. Discussing "frozen assumptions in college admissions" (40), B. Alden Thresher suggests an admissions process in which the institution would accept some students needing remedial work, some of exceptional ability, and a middle range chosen by a method of random selection. Alexander W. Astin concurs with him in his responding paper. Julian C. Stanley finds that traditional testing criteria predict college grades as well for educationally disadvantaged black students as they do for white students (see also 38). He believes colleges are socially and educationally justified in admitting marginally qualified minority group students if they provide substantial academic and financial aid, but new curriculums will have to be developed if greatly underqualified students are admitted. Calling for better assessment of students, Winton H. Manning proposes an experimental system of random admissions, "ACORN '80," under which a group of colleges would select from a pool of students for experimental and control groups in their institutions. This process would provide information about the matching of students with institutions. Hugh W. Lane prefers open admissions to the use of any tests. Open admissions experiences are related by Timothy Healy (see 21) and John D. Millett, who believe that open admissions requires a constant reevaluation of academic standards "in relation to the various intellectual, manpower, and social objectives of higher education." Examining special programs and practices for minority students, Edmund W. Gordon finds they have not been very successful. He proposes instead a system of admissions within a single institution that would choose one-half of the student body at random and one-half selected according to established criteria (see also 22). Helen S. Astin agrees with his assessment of special programs. In "Lack of Money: A Barrier to Higher Education," Humphrey Doermann finds that low-income students will not be encouraged to attend college if their loans are not supplemented by opportunity grants.

6. Birenbaum, William M. "A Time for Reconstruction. A Specific Proposal for a New Kind of College for Our New Urban Society. . . . And for an Institute for Universal Advanced Education to Coordinate and Consolidate Secondary and Higher Education in the City of New York." Presidential Inaugural Address, Staten Island Community College of the City University of New York, September 30, 1969.

To enable people to deal with the problems of living in a modern urban setting, the author proposes that New York City provide universal postsecondary education *"solidly based upon a new amalgamation of the resources of the high schools and the colleges."* In this Institute for Universal Advanced Education, there will be an integration of all types of students and programs, and "a sense and a reality of community." In the author's plan, the limitations of calendar time, credit hours, and entrance requirements should be eliminated: education should adjust to human styles, and students should be evaluated at the end of the educational process. The new Institute would also provide opportunities for practical experience. Finally, it would recognize and value the ideas of its young students.

7. Bowles, Frank. "The Democratization of Education –A World-Wide Revolution," *College Board Review* 73, Fall 1969.

The democratization of education is a process which "seeks to eliminate all restrictions upon educational opportunity. . . [including] quota systems imposed by the professions." This process promotes social mobility and changes the nature of the university's responsibility to the student and society. The university must provide supportive services for a new group of entering students. There will be a period of readjustment as they graduate and join middle-class professions. They may displace other aspirants or incumbents because of the limited number of middle-class positions. The author predicts that the university's greatest challenge will not be the political invasions of its rights, but the social pressure to "assert and administer the intellectual leadership it claims."

8. *The Campus and the Racial Crisis.* Edited by David C. Nichols and Olive Mills. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1970.

Two papers deal with the philosophy underlying the current method of selection and admissions to colleges and universities: Logan Wilson's "Merit and Equality in Higher Education," and Alexander W. Astin's "Racial Considerations in Admissions." Dr. Wilson believes there is a conflict between the concepts of equality of opportunity and meritocracy in American higher education. He views meritocracy–individual advancement coupled with ability and effort–as a democratizing force in higher education. Under this system, the large majority of the population cannot, "by definition," achieve excellence. Educational opportunities

are available if equality of opportunity is not confused with identity of opportunities: "some form of post-secondary education should be available for everybody." However, Dr. Wilson does not believe traditional higher education should perform this function.

Dr. Astin bases his discussion on his study of academic retention and survival in college. He questions whether academic grades and test scores now used as the criteria for college admission best serve the institution's goal of promoting positive change in its students. These standards identify students with the greatest potential for success in any college and do not consider how students may develop individually through specialized programs. New criteria should be developed to identify this potential. Although meritocratic criteria generally predict success accurately–for black or white students–Dr. Astin believes his studies show these measurements may err considerably: "not all of the most promising students succeed in college, nor do all the least promising students fail." Therefore, very selective institutions "could admit much larger numbers of students from disadvantaged and atypical backgrounds without substantially changing their dropout rate." This change in admissions practice may not necessarily lower academic quality, since standards of performance, in theory, should be distinct from standards of admission. Brief critical commentaries follow this article.

An adaptation of Dr. Astin's paper appears in *Saturday Review,* December 20, 1969, as "The Folklore of Selectivity."

9. *A Chance to Learn. An Action Agenda for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education.* The Carnegie Commission on Higher Education. New York: McGraw-Hill, March 1970.

The Carnegie Commission endorses the concept of universal access to higher education, but rejects the possibility of universal attendance, i.e., compulsory higher education. To provide for universal access, the Commission recommends that: (1) the states plan for universal access to the system, but not necessarily to each institution; (2) community colleges or their equivalents should be created within commuting distance of potential students; (3) 4-year colleges should accept qualified transfer students and credit their previous work; (4) institutions should accept the responsibility of serving disadvantaged minorities at all levels of training, and universities should enroll substantially more disadvantaged minority students in their graduate programs; and (5) each institution should issue an annual report on its present and potential contributions to equality of opportunity. The Commission also makes provision for special compensatory programs at the college level and emphasizes the need for equal educational opportunity on the preelementary, elementary, and secondary school levels.

10. Chenoweth, Gene. "A Reply to Dr. Astin," *College and University* 46, Fall 1970.

The author uses Dr. Astin's findings on admission criteria and success in college (8) to dispute his contention that these measures are wrongly used to "pick winners" rather than to admit students who can benefit the most from a particular educational program. Since current admission criteria are generally accurate in predicting success, the author argues they must be used to determine the probability of the student's survival in college. He believes that this is as strong a moral issue as the question of open admissions. The author also criticizes Dr. Astin for not taking into account the differences in grades from different high schools in evaluating students and the effect of massive support on disadvantaged students in selective colleges. He believes:

> . . . we have to accept the evidence of individual differences; and this means that we will have to continue our assessment of human beings on an individual basis, rather than a class basis.

11. The City University of New York [CUNY]. "CUNY Admissions Policy. Statement of Policy by the Board of Higher Education." July 9, 1969. ED 031 142. MF-$0.65, HC-$3.29.

The Board of Higher Education for the City University of New York (CUNY) issued this statement in response to the questions raised by the "Five Demands" at City College. After reconsidering its Master Plan, which provided for higher education opportunities for all by 1975, the Board decided to institute an open admissions policy by September 1970. It required the plan to be developed by the University Commission on Admissions (13) to: (1) offer admission to some University program to all City high school graduates; (2) provide remedial and other supportive services; (3) maintain and improve the colleges' academic standards; (4) result in ethnic integration throughout the University; (5) provide mobility between programs and units of the University; and (6) assure that all students who would be admitted under past criteria to a particular institution will still be admitted. The Board notes:

> We do not want to provide the illusion of an open door to higher education which in reality is only a revolving door, admitting everyone but leading to a high proportion of failure after one semester.

12. The City University of New York [CUNY]. *The Open Admissions Story. 1970 at the City University of*

New York. New York: Office of University Relations, CUNY, 1970. HE 002 018 (RIE July). MF-$0.65, HC-$3.29.

This is a collection of policy statements, press releases, and other papers related to the implementation of open admissions at the City University. Included is the Board of Higher Education's "Statement of Admissions Policy" that describes the plan that was adopted. This plan established 10 groups by both percentile rank in class and high school grade average. A student is classified by the highest category for which he is eligible. For example, Group I includes the top tenth percentile and/or a high school average of 90 percent or more. Those applicants in Groups I through V can be admitted to the senior colleges, and students who would have been admitted to specific senior and community colleges under past criteria will still be admitted. Other students may attend community colleges in terminal or transfer programs. Students are to be given their choice of program as far as this is feasible, and the SEEK program was expanded 85 percent over the 1969 entering class.

13. The City University of New York [CUNY]. *Report and Recommendations to the Board of Higher Education of the City of New York.* University Commission on Admissions. New York: The City University of New York, October 7, 1969. ED 035 373. MF-$0.65, HC-$3.29.

The University Commission on Admissions' report provides the Board of Higher Education with three different plans for implementing an open admissions policy. These plans are designed to fulfill the Board's requirements for such a policy. A modified version of these plans was adopted (see 12). All three proposals utilize rank in class within each high school rather than grade point average as the bases for admission. The Commission believes that rank indicates the student's academic achievement in competition and greatly alleviates admissions inequities created by different high schools' grade distribution. All plans also provide for ethnic balance through the use of SEEK criteria or the SEEK program for disadvantaged students. Under Proposal I, the majority of freshmen would be admitted on the basis of their class rank. The remaining places would be reserved for students admitted under SEEK criteria. Proposal II provides for 60 percent to be admitted by rank, approximately 15 percent admitted under SEEK criteria, and 25 percent admitted on the basis of stated preference. Where preferences exceed available places, students would be assigned by lot. Proposal III uses Proposal I's plan, but students would enter the SEEK program rather than the regular program. Spaces also would be reserved for students previously admitted to specific senior and community colleges.

In addition to these alternatives, the Commission offers two plans for the restructuring of the University. These are designed to provide the student with significantly different choices for his higher education. In the first plan, three groups of colleges within the University would be established: comprehensive colleges with 2- and 4-year degree programs; Colleges of Liberal Arts and Sciences offering Bachelor Degrees; and 2-year career, professional, and technical colleges offering Associate Degrees. The second proposal would maintain the present 4-year colleges, and change 2-year colleges into comprehensive 4-year colleges that emphasize professional training and preparation.

14. Clark, Kenneth B. "The Governance of Universities in the Cities of Man," *The American Scholar* 39, Autumn 1970.

The author discusses the democratizing trend in American higher education and believes that the survival of a democratic society depends upon its further development. Institutions that are seriously interested in removing barriers to higher education must accept the risks involved in planning and implementing a reorganization of their institution. The City University of New York (CUNY) could be used as a "model of seriousness . . . and a forerunner of the even more fundamental changes in university structure, procedures and governance that must come if this program is to succeed." CUNY's program will be considered successful if it prepares recipients of inferior education for a "single standard of academic performance" in higher education during the first 2 years of college. In addition, he recommends the development of a "student educational cooperative program" in which student tutors would be given academic credit for their work and the most successful would receive financial help. This program would benefit the student tutors by developing their sense of social responsibility.

15. *College Board Review* 76, Summer 1970. "Responses to 'Spiro T. Agnew on College Admissions.' "

At the request of the *Review,* educators quoted by the Vice President and others comment on his discussion of open admissions and racial quotas (1). Two writers support his views. The 14 other commentators criticize his speech—several report they were incorrectly quoted. Alexander Astin points out that open admissions is not a new practice in American higher education. Since colleges and universities already admit students from a wide range of abilities, a broader admissions policy may involve more of a quantitative than a qualitative difference. He also warns that ability tracking may result in segregation by social class and race. Whitney M. Young, Jr. notes that admission criteria may be used for reasons other than a concern for academic quality—i.e., the limitation of places at the

college. In the past, admissions criteria have been flexible enough to admit athletes and veterans, Benjamin W. McKendall, Jr. observes. He suggests that self-selection may be a viable alternative to present policy if other admissions practices are also changed.

16. "Critique of Newman Report." Offered by Washington Higher Education Secretariat. April 8, 1971. HE 002 218 (RIE Oct.). MF-$0.65, HC-$3.29.

The higher education associations criticize the "Newman Report" (33) as "a curious reflection of well intentioned concern based on selective reading and incomplete investigation." Specific disagreements with the Report include: (1) failure to cite studies that show well-educated people are more effective at work; (2) failure to place the responsibility for employment certification on the employer rather than the university; and (3) failure to recognize the diversity of higher education and the steps which have been taken towards innovation and reform.

17. Cross, K. Patricia. "Alternate Paths to Excellence." Position paper prepared for the Education Task Force of the White House Conference on Youth. April 18-22, 1971. Estes Park, Colorado. HE 002 126 (RIE Oct.). MF-$0.65, HC-$3.29.

The author discusses two major steps that must be taken to achieve equality of educational opportunity: "assurance of equality of *access* to all levels of education and the *accommodation* of education to fit the diverse needs of the populace." She reviews the history of admissions philosophy and suggests that egalitarianism, the most recent concept, is concerned with both tasks. Its advocates would provide equality of access by removing all barriers–including ability–to college. Open admissions is the symbol of this philosophy. Egalitarians also recognize that to provide true opportunity, higher education must offer a range of educational programs or accommodate its forms to students' needs and talents. In its concern with access during the 1960s, higher education brought a new student population to the campus without revising its one-dimensional concept of excellence. Consequently, there are always "marginal" students in the traditional programs. She suggests accommodation models of education that will help the student recognize and develop his particular abilities.

18. Etzioni, Amitai. "Nine Aspects of the Policy of Open Admissions." A Revised Version of a Paper Presented on March 16, 1971, to the 26th National Conference on Higher Education. Chicago, Illinois. HE 002 203 (RIE Oct.). MF-$0.65, HC-$3.29.

The author discusses problems related to "expanding admissions," a term he believes more accurately describes current changes in admissions practices than does "open admissions." He points out that no institution admits all people from a particular age group or all who might want to attend, and economic factors also bar students who need tuition waivers and financial assistance. Educational programs designed for these "new" students should not be ethnically oriented: New York City educators have found that about two-thirds of their open admissions students are white, many from the lower-middle and working classes. They need to be taught the values of the twentieth century and prepared for the twenty-first. Institutional quality will be lowered if the college redefines itself in the image of the less prepared students. He fears that a continued dilution of academic standards will cause government and industry to take over the certification process now left to higher education. Instead of a continuing expansion of admissions programs which place less prepared students among a majority of better prepared students, institutions might consider a program of "differential admissions," which would allow students to take courses according to their different levels of ability.

19. Etzioni, Amitai and Milner, Murray. "Equality and Quality in Liberal Arts and Technical Undergraduate Education," in *Higher Education in an Active Society: A Policy Study*. Washington: Bureau of Social Science Research, Inc., March 1970. ED 040 695, MF-$0.65, HC-$13.16.

The authors discuss the relationship among four areas in American higher education: selectivity; standards; balance between technical and liberal arts education; and the organizational structure of colleges and universities. To promote equality of educational opportunity "with as little loss in quality of education as possible," they call for universal access to a "liberating education." This education is "one that enables the young person to continue to evolve from a less to a more civilized being . . ." It provides a basis for consensus and tolerance in society. All students would receive 2 years of a liberating education. They suggest several procedures to eliminate the prestige value of a 4-year education: e.g., junior divisions in 4-year colleges; students assigned randomly to 2-year colleges and junior divisions of senior colleges on the basis of proximity; Associate or Arts degree awarded to all students at the end of 2 years. The senior colleges should provide higher technical education and maintain equality of educational opportunity by admitting disadvantaged students in proportion to their number graduating from the junior colleges. At this level, the

disadvantaged students would be selected on the basis of merit. The authors also recommend that "*the rich pay tuition, even in the public colleges, and the poor receive not only free tuition but also a substantial allowance*."

20. Ferrin, Richard I. *Barriers to Universal Higher Education.* Palo Alto, California: College Entrance Examination Board, March 1970. ED 038 924. MF-$0.65, HC-$3.29.

This report, prepared as a background paper for Willingham's *Free-access Higher Education* (42), identified four significant barriers to higher education: financial, academic, motivational, and geographic. Two or more barriers, whether perceived or real, may be effective in preventing access. Under the financial barrier, the author discusses the problems of direct costs, subsistence costs and indirect costs, such as foregone earnings and reduced contribution to family income. The academic barrier includes the perception of college as a "representative of an alien culture," which demands admissions criteria, entrance examinations, courses that may be irrelevant, and bureaucratic procedures oriented to the middle class. Parental and peer encouragement, together with an atmosphere of expectation and aspiration, provide the student with motivation for attending college. These factors are frequently missing in the noncollege student's background. Physical and psychological distances constitute the geographic barrier to higher education. Studies have shown that students are more likely to attend college if it is within reasonable commuting distance and the personal and social adjustments do not seem insuperable. This especially applies to low income students. Methods of eliminating these barriers are discussed.

21. Glazer, Nathan, "Are Academic Standards Obsolete?" *Change* 2, November-December 1970.

The author reviews the way academic ability has been used as a criterion for admission to college; the arugments pro and con for this standard; and the consequences of changing it for criteria designed "to right social wrongs." He argues that one's view of the world determines advocacy of meritocracy or alternative criteria:

If one believes that . . . there are problems which require great abilities of various kinds, one will probably look more favorably on the preservation of the process of selection. If . . . one believes that there are solutions available to our problems, then one will feel that the concern for selection is less important.

Higher education is faced with the issue of admission criteria because it plays the dominant role in determining the careers and upward mobility of millions of people—an influence the author believes it should not have. Given this situation, the author believes that colleges and universities "cannot maintain the primacy of tested academic ability, except [in areas such as the sciences]." While this standard is suitable for academic success, it may not be appropriate for "determining the distribution of status and power in society."

22. Gordon, Edmund W., et al., "Admissions Policy: Implications and Consequences," *Liberal Education* 56, May 1970.

Three authors discuss the reasons for and the consequences of an open admissions policy. Edmund W. Gordon suggests that society must provide universal access to higher education to have the informed and skilled population it needs for its future survival. He sees an immediate need for "a radical redistribution of labor in higher education" in which stronger institutions will educate weaker students and weaker institutions will attract stronger students. Describing the "University of Utopia," Hugh W. Lane talks about a future nation that believes education should have the highest priority in planning and financing because it is "central to the continuity of [its] social and political processes." Allowance is made for individual development in this Utopian system and students regularly participate in a national assessment which tests achievement of goals in a core curriculum of basic life skills and citizenship. Thomas C. Mendenhall outlines the implications of the "admissions explosion" for the independent liberal arts college. He believes that the future of these colleges will be largely determined by their admissions policies. Using traditional measurements of academic ability, these institutions find themselves competing with high-quality, low-cost public institutions for the same talented students. They are beginning to recognize that these criteria do not indicate motivation and purpose and have limited value in assessing disadvantaged students. Liberal arts colleges must emphasize more personal qualities in their applicants and "realize a less competitive more humane definition of achievement in college." These colleges' tradition of teaching will strengthen their efforts.

23. Healy, Timothy S., "Will Everyman Destroy the University?" *Saturday Review*, December 20, 1969.

The author, vice chancellor for academic affairs at the City University of New York (CUNY), observes that CUNY's open admissions policy extends beyond the guarantee of admission to every high school graduate. It provides for: remedial and other supportive services; "ethnic integration of the colleges"; continued and improved academic excellence; admission to desired programs for those eligible under old requirements; and student mobility among the programs and

units of CUNY. The author believes that the quality of the CUNY education will still attract bright students under the new admissions policy and that "standards" will not be lowered. "Standards ought to refer to what a university does for its students, rather than to their opening handicap." In addition, the new college students will contribute to the quality of the University through their different perspective or "brand-new American imagination." The new admissions policy is also a service function of CUNY to New York City as a "poverty interrupter."

24. Horle, Reid F., and John T. Thompson, "Legal and Political Implications of Policies Governing Admission to Publicly Supported Institutions of Higher Education," *College and University* 43, Spring 1968.

The authors review the legal history of the "right" to attend college. They find that the courts now tend to regard higher education as a necessity and a civil right. This understanding raises questions about the legitimacy of restrictive admissions policies in publicly supported institutions–whether they are reasonable or arbitrary. They note a conflict between the public institution's desire to control enrollment size and raise academic standards, and the social and economic pressure for more education; the court's unwillingness to rule on reasonable decisions; and the growing recognition of higher education as a right. They predict that, acting under political pressure, the state legislatures will require governing boards of public institutions to greatly reduce their admissions requirements. They are concerned that the legislatures and courts not interfere with the college's right to define criteria for retention.

25. Hyman, Seymour C. to Robert Novak, 4 January 1971, on "The Wrecking of a College," *The Washington Post*, December 24, 1970. HE 002 179 (RIE Oct.). MF-$0.65, HC-$3.29.

This is the Deputy Chancellor of the City University of New York's (CUNY) reply to Robert Novak's report that the Open Admissions Program (OAP) is causing a decline in the quality of education at CUNY, specifically at City College. Answering the charges levelled against OAP, he maintains that CUNY has not been radically changed by this admissions policy. Based on tests administered to all 35,000 freshmen, CUNY found that "almost 30 percent of those who would have been eligible under former admission standards were found to require some degree of remediation," indicating that previous screening practices were flawed. One-half of the freshmen needed remedial work. If quality is measured by previous academic scores, then CUNY's rating is high–the high school average of incoming freshmen being far above the national average. Dr. Hyman notes that quality also depends on faculty. Again, CUNY's record for keeping tenured faculty is above the national average; the record number of applications for teaching positions have also shown that OAP is an attraction. OAP is not only directed at disadvantaged minority students, as Mr. Novak suggests. The freshman ratio of white to black students is 3:1. Dr. Hyman also responds to the charges of financial cost; declares that OAP was not the result of radical pressure; and answers those CCNY professors opposed to open admissions.

26. Jaffe, A. J., and Walter Adams. "Academic and Socio-Economic Factors Related to Entrance and Retention at Two- and Four-Year Colleges in the Late 1960s." Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University. 1970. HE 002 069 (RIE Aug.). MF-$0.65, HC-$3.29.

The authors examine data on the retention rate of 1966 high school graduates who have not received special assistance in college and discuss the implications of their findings for the development of broadened or open enrollment in higher education. They report:

> . . . the academic variables appear to be better predictors of post-high school behavior than the socio-economic ones. The educational "track" a student entered early in high school and his own self-assessment, whether correct or not, appear to be more important than this actual academic performance.

Since psychological and social factors underlie his curricular choice, the student who does not choose a college preparatory course is not likely to enter college or remain there if he does attend.

The authors suggest that more attention must be given to retaining the new students who would enter college under an open enrollment plan. The high drop-out rates and consequent frustration that would result without full consideration to retention problems could outweigh the benefits of open admissions for those who might graduate. Limited open enrollment programs with provision for continual evaluation should be developed. If these pilot programs do not fulfill their objectives, they should be revised or dropped.

27. Kerr, Clark. "Should Everybody Be Able to Go to College?" In *Higher Education for All.* Addresses at the First Interim Session, University of Hawaii. January 1970.

The author discusses the implications, and positive and negative consequences of universal access to higher education. He urges consideration of these consequences before this policy is instituted. On the positive side, universal access will result in equality of educational opportunity, economic growth, and improved

quality of life. These benefits must be balanced against: (1) a continuing battle over funds; (2) loss of institutional autonomy when enrollment plans are made at a higher level and political battles occur over each campus' role; (3) debates over "the position of meritocracy and access to it"; (4) conflict between campus and community over the social change universal access will bring; (5) the potential shift from universal access to universal attendance, resulting in a captive, troublesome student body; and (6) an oversupply of highly educated people could mean that salaries will be based on how unpleasant a job is rather than the degree of education required.

28. "Leadership." In *Higher Education for Everybody? Issues and Implications*, edited by W. Todd Furniss. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1971.

In "Closing the Gap Between the Ideal and Reality," Arthur S. Flemming faults the higher education community for failing to provide equality of educational opportunity. To rectify this situation, he recommends that higher education leaders develop a "plan of action designed to provide equal opportunity to higher education for all Americans." The higher education system can do the most to make such equality a reality. It can establish goals, programs, and, with a united front, obtain more funding from private and government sources. This course of action will also promote needed reform and change the total approach to higher education. He fears that the future of higher education is not assured if a commitment of equality of educational opportunity and reform is not made.

Samuel B. Gould and Terry Sanford discuss issues related to campus tensions and the future direction of higher education.

29. *Open Admissions and Equal Access.* Edited by Philip R. Rever. Iowa City, Iowa: The American College Testing Program, 1971. HE 002 217 (RIE Oct.). MF-$0.65, HC-$3.29.

The papers collected in this volume were presented at the American Association on Higher Education's conference March 1970. They are concerned with the questions: "Who Should Decide Who Goes to College?" "Who Should Go to College?" and "Open Admissions to What?" In answering the first question, Wayne L. Morse discusses the responsibility of American higher education to provide an employable citizenry. He advocates publicly supported, open admissions, 2-year institutions beyond high school. Stephen J. Tonsor replies to this position. Addressing his paper to the second question, William M. Birenbaum concludes "*We are no longer prepared to tell anyone that he should not try to go.*" Timothy S. Healy and Robert S. Babcock comment on this paper. Peter Schrag answers the third question by recommending that society offer and support several alternative modes of education: apprenticeships, internships, and trade schools, for example. Theodore M. Newcomb would provide for the open admissions and old students by offering "a series of experiences that [the student] considered desirable for himself" at a given time, in a given institution. Edmund W. Gordon elaborates on his proposal for a lottery form of admissions (22). Leo A. Munday and Philip R. Rever discuss "Perspectives on Open Admissions."

30. "Practices: The Question Of . . . Access, Quality, Reform, Alternatives, Adults," in *Higher Education for Everybody? Issues and Implications.* Edited by W. Todd Furniss. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1971.

The papers included in this section were presented at the American Council on Education's annual meeting in October 1970 (28,31,32). The five authors and seven commentators on their papers discuss some of the issues and problems that must be considered in implementing some form of an open admissions policy. Robert M. O'Neil discusses the breakdown of racial barriers and the development of geographic barriers. Although statistics show an increase in minority enrollment, he points out that this trend may give a misleading impression that racial barriers are being irreversibly eliminated. Minority students are found in disproportionate numbers at the community college level, and the percentage of minority freshmen is higher than that for upperclassmen. Loss of financial support threatens even this trend. Public universities are raising barriers to out-of-state students in the form of quota systems, and grade point and fee differentials. He foresees the possibility that legal considerations may eliminate these geographical blocs. William W. Turnbull notes the concern of some observers that higher education will deteriorate in quality because less academically able students are entering colleges and universities. This expansion in enrollment from the lower three-fourths of the high school class will be accelerated by open admissions. He points out that this ability group has always been represented in college by those who could pay their way. Increased financial support and a desire for racial and social diversity are changing the distribution of academic ability across institutions. He discusses the dimensions of quality in their scholastic and secular aspects: teaching and learning; research; and service to the community. In establishing quality an institution must develop its philosophy and goals. He questions the possibility of achieving high quality—including breadth—without an enrollment representative of the breadth of the country's population.

In discussing reforms for higher education, James A. Perkins distinguishes between undirected change and

"change guided by conscious purpose toward visible ends." He examines the possibility for the latter in such areas as institutional size, values, curricular reform, and the university's relationship to society. Logan Wilson questions the assumption found in some of the literature on universal higher education that the present college and university system is a route all high school graduates should take. Higher education is also expected to provide upward mobility and solve social problems.

But not all high school graduates have the ability to deal with a program designed for a selected group. Further, education for all in its present form already has and will continue to erode the certification value of a degree. If a college education becomes less rigorous as a result of this new enrollment, the marketability of knowledge learned may be reduced. Among the alternatives to this possibility are: (1) no further formal education; (2) greater emphasis on equivalency programs; and (3) postsecondary opportunities off the campus. Thurman J. White highlights the issues in the American Council on Education's background papers that touch upon the concerns for higher adult education. He also calls upon the Council to address itself to questions on higher adult education omitted from these papers: who shall teach? where? and when?

31. "Premises: Higher Education as . . . Means, Process, Catalyst, Response." in *Higher Education for Everybody? Issues and Implications.* Edited by W. Todd Furniss. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1971.

In background papers commissioned for the American Council on Education's annual meeting in 1970, four authors discuss the implications that a broader and more diversified student body will have for higher education. Twelve educators comment on their papers. (Also see 28,30,32) W. Todd Furniss foresees that the advent of noncompulsory equal access to postsecondary education will bring about changes in the traditional model of higher education because more widely diversified talents and needs will have to be served. Currently, the "production" model dominates liberal higher education. The college guarantees successful graduates by selecting familiar and homogeneous students, offering them prescribed experiences, and graduating the predicted result. In a more open system, institutions will have to incorporate some of the features of the "ad hoc" model now used at experimental colleges. This model is flexible; it responds to current issues and needs. Martin Trow predicts that the movement from mass to universal higher education will result in more radical changes. He suggests that this transitional period has already shown the "breakdown of consensus" on campus. The academic community no longer shares a value system and a conception of what the university should represent and how it should function. This breakdown is evidenced by such things as the politicization of the campus; the reaction to public events and the breakdown of the undergraduate curriculum. He relates many of these difficulties to the presence of "involuntary" students on the campus. Universal higher education is a fact for these students from the upper middle classes and in states like California where 80 percent of the high school graduates go on to some postsecondary education. Traditional higher education does not serve the needs of the large majority of students, and will not dominate in a system of universal higher education. The author predicts that "consent units" will replace current practices. These small undergraduate colleges will be formed on the basis of shared interests. They will decide their own admissions policies and educational practices. In calling for a "major overhaul of our institutions," William M. Birenbaum suggests that educators should listen to and value the criticisms and ideas of their students. To deal with an increasingly diversified student body, the university must institute curricular reform and remove the limitations of age, length of study and location it places on higher education. Although he believes the university should serve the needs of all who want to enter, he does not advocate a hierarchal structure of state university, college, and junior college. Such a system reflects society's class structure and results in racial segregation. James L. Miller reviews the factors contributing to the growth of higher education from 1945-70 and notes the national consensus that higher education is needed for economic, democratic, individual, and leadership reasons. Problems higher education must face include: reconciling an essentially meritocratic system with egalitarian social goals and values; reforming the collegiate environment to accord with the new life styles of students; and planning and coordinating the higher education system, while necessarily losing autonomy.

32. "Priorities: The Pressures of . . ." in *Higher Education for Everybody? Issues and Implications.* Edited by W. Todd Furniss. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1971.

This section of the American Council on Education's Proceedings (also see 28,30,31) includes three main presentations and commentaries. Roger E. Bolton discusses the public interest in financing higher education and the controversy over what form government expenditure should take. He examines two reasons frequently given for public support of higher education: higher education results in external benefits to society and in a redistribution of income. To achieve these goals by funding higher education, government must divert its resources from other worthy projects. Therefore, "we must examine critically the notion that higher education for everybody is a worthy goal."

Other considerations are: (1) Will financial support increase equality of opportunity if it has not already done so? (2) Does this failure occur because limited resources have been used to make high cost education easily available to some students? Heinz Eulau discusses the considerations which enter into federal and state legislators' decisions affecting higher education. He also reports findings from his survey of state officials' attitudes toward higher education. Universal higher education was supported "primarily from legislators in the largest states with complex systems—Texas, California, and New York." They recognized the public as well as private benefits of this policy, but they were concerned about questions of ability and finance. Other legislators were adamantly opposed to universal public education. The author believes the range of responses to this issue indicates an "ambiguity of educational goals" and a lack of a precise understanding of what higher education for everybody means. This situation may benefit higher education because it allows more flexibility in policy formation. In presenting the Nixon Administration's point of view, Daniel P. Moynihan discusses the public's interest in universal higher education. He documents the assumption of the mid-60's that higher education would move from mass to universal higher education, and suggests two reasons why this belief is now questioned: (1) There is dissatisfaction in the higher education community with the current form of mass higher education and a concern that universal higher education would create the same problems on a larger scale. There is now general agreement that all young people do not want and cannot benefit from higher education in its current form. (2) Politization of the campus has taken place. This situation—an outcome of "the joining of general political issues with specific university issues"—has created problems of public support for higher education. The public will not give the academic community support to the degree that the community is hostile to the majority position. The author also criticizes the higher education community's lack of support for the Nixon Administration's 1970 proposals for higher education, which had as their goal progress toward universal opportunity for higher education. The proposals were directed toward young people from poor families and those whose natural abilities would probably not enable them to benefit from traditional forms of higher education. He calls for national leadership and improved organization from colleges and universities so that they can work with the government in planning higher education's future development.

33. *Report on Higher Education.* Report to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1971.HE 002 219(RIE Sept.). MF-$0.65, HC-$3.29.

The "Newman Report" cites as a major reason for developing new alternatives to postsecondary education an enlarged and more diverse student population that has a wider range of talents and needs. It recognizes that "Gradually, the public has come to assume that everyone who wants to go to college should be able to do so." It characterizes as "marginal" the changes in admissions policy that have taken place—nonstandard admissions, for example—and calls for greater reforms. Colleges and universities should serve individuals of all ages. Admissions policies should favor students who have experiences outside school, and students should have the option of not attending college immediately after high school. Also needed are new forms of educational subsidies for students who enter college some time after high school graduation.

Two of the 12 issues the report discusses are especially pertinent to the question of open admissions: the college's role in minority education and its monopoly in providing credentials for an increasingly wide variety of jobs. The report finds that minority students account for only about 3 percent of the enrollment in predominantly white institutions. A renewed commitment to minority education is needed. Answering the charge that open admissions will result in "cheap degrees," the report notes that this policy has a long history at some state universities. In addition, they find "little or no evidence of any change in degree standards" at institutions using different admissions criteria for minority students. The report also questions the job market's reliance on degrees when there is evidence that these credentials do not forecast effectiveness on the job. It believes that "It is time to halt the enormous and growing power which colleges and universities have as sorting and screening institutions." (Also see 16.)

34. Resnik, Solomon and Barbara Kaplan, "Report Card on Open Admissions: Remedial Work Recommended," *The New York Times Magazine,* May 9, 1971.

The authors find that open admissions at the City University of New York (CUNY) has had some degree of success where the "new philosophy of education" rather than the traditional view has guided the implementation of open admissions. This philosophy holds that the university is a social force that must educate as many students as possible without lowering its standards and must be active in recruiting and helping these students to meet the old standards. The traditional view sees the university as an elite institution in which the student must meet requirements without institutional aid. The current conflict between these views is seen in the remedial programs, academic standards, racial goals, and financial priorities at the different divisions of CUNY. The authors find a wide variation in the strength of each division's remedial program, and criti-

cize these program's for not providing enough skill-development work. Citing CUNY's special programs for disadvantaged students, they conclude that academic standards will not be lowered if a good skill-development program is instituted, and they suggest that those who raise the standards issue may become "agents of a self-fulfilling prophecy." While open admissions has not provided the hoped-for racial integration, neither has it caused racial disturbances. Racism, however, continues to be somewhat of a problem. The authors also call for financial aid for the neediest open admissions students. Lack of aid for these students presents a serious barrier to their education.

35. Roberts, Wallace. "Federal City: Prospects for the Common College," *Change,* November-December 1969.

Reviewing Federal City College's first year of operation, the author finds a conflict between the premise underlying the College's open admissions policy and its traditional academic offerings. While the admissions policy challenges the concept of meritocracy, the curriculum promotes the traditional concept of education. Presently, the College admits students on a first come, first serve basis. Its students—many over 21 and out of high school for 1 year—seek an education that promises a successful career: " . . . the social aims of education are of paramount importance." The author faults this orientation. He suggests that the radical open admissions policy calls for radical changes in the concept of what a college education should be. The need is not for the common culture college education now offers, but for "a challenge to the old values and a call for a new society that thrives on a variety of values."

36. Rosener, Benjamin. "Open Admissions at the City University of New York." Paper presented at the American Association for the Advancement of Science, Chicago, December 27, 1970. HE 002 149 (RIE Sept.). MF-$0.65, HC-$3.29.

The author, dean of administration at the City University of New York (CUNY), reviews the events and the plans leading to open admissions at CUNY in September 1970. He notes that this open admissions plan is distinguished from some state universities' policies because CUNY provides extensive remedial education to keep its students from dropping out. Reading and mathematics achievement tests were given to all 31,635 incoming freshmen—about 10,000 students needed help in one or all subjects: reading, mathematics, and composition. Since funding for this remedial work will be difficult to obtain on a continuing basis, CUNY is working with New York's elementary and secondary schools to provide remediation on those levels. Responding to the concern over the possible lowering of academic standards under open admissions, the author asserts that degrees are awarded on the basis of performance determined by faculty who are unlikely to dilute their standards of excellence. In addition, he suggests that changes in the course of studies offered is a reflection of the needs of the students and contemporary society rather than an easing of standards. CUNY cannot return to selective admissions, but must discover what methods are most effective for its new students.

37. Scott, Robert A., "Challenges Presented by Open Enrollment." Remarks Delivered at the 26th Annual Conference of the National Association of College Admissions Counselors, Boston, Massachusetts, September 29-October 3, 1970. ED 044 745, MF-$0.65, HC-$3.29.

The author, Associate Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences at Cornell University, suggests that the concept of open admissions challenges traditional thinking on admissions and academic standards, failure and success, and the university's role. He discusses Cornell's experience with one variation on open admissions: "admission of a percentage of students under different selection criteria than the remainder who are selected by traditional criteria." Remedial assistance is available to all and required for some of these students. Cornell has conducted three studies on the success of traditional admissions criteria in predicting grade point average for specially admitted students. The author reports that "Each of these studies justifies the practice of putting very limited value on standard academic predictors." They also support the use of factors such as motivation, leadership ability, and talent in forecasting college performance. The author endorses Alexander Astin's recommendation that admissions officers re-evaluate their traditional measurements (8).

38. Stanley, Julian C. "Predicting College Success of the Educationally Disadvantaged," *Science* 171, February 19, 1971.

The author dissents from some current thinking on and procedures for admitting disadvantaged students to selective institutions. He characterizes a student as educationally disadvantaged if all available information, including test scores, grades, personal background, and finance, indicate that he is "likely to have appreciably more academic difficulty than the typical minimally admissible student" at a given institution. Working from this premise, he points out that test scores are accurate predictors of academic success in college for all students; he questions the validity of persistance to graduation as a criterion for success; and he suggests that the current practice of waiving objective scores in favor of subjective judgments for socio-economically disadvantaged students should be reversed. Highly selective institutions which have made

the greatest effort to educate academically disadvantaged students are not as well suited for this purpose as the less selective private and public institutions. These colleges should receive the greatest federal support. Institutions that admit significantly less able students will have to devise new, easier curricula—massive compensation will not be enough. Frustrations caused by admitting significantly disadvantaged students may be difficult to resolve.

39. Statement of the Board of Trustees, National Urban League, on Open Admissions in American Colleges and Universities. February, 1970. HE 002 176 (RIE Sept.). MF-$0.65, HC-$3.29.

The National Urban League calls for the establishment or re-institution of open admissions policies in the nation's colleges and universities. All students who have a high school diploma or its equivalent should have access to higher education. In providing this opportunity, the League believes institutions would be "accepting the public responsibility for short-circuiting the cycle of disappointment, discrimination and rage that lock minority youth out of productive careers and rob them of a stake in society." Open admissions must be accompanied by supportive services if it is not to be a revolving door and a "cruel hoax" on these students. The League rejects the use of selective admissions criteria, because they respond to supply and demand instead of predicting success. The best way to measure a student's success is by evaluating his performance in college.

40. Thresher, B. Alden, "Frozen Assumptions in Admissions," *College Admissions Policies for the 1970s.* New York: College Entrance Examination Board, 1968. ED 040 660, MF-$0.65, HC-$6.58.

The author discusses some trends in education that will affect the admissions process. It is now recognized that talent is not something which is found, but it can be produced. This acknowledgement broadens the potential college population. Since education is now considered as a continuing process, tests will serve a diagnostic guidance function. Other trends include new approaches to learning and the realization that a managerial hierarchy in which policy and wisdom filter down from administrators is not the only viable structure. In conflict with these developments are some assumptions underlying the admissions process: (1) the current organization of learning is the best system; (2) selection is important, and more selectivity is better; and (3) prediction is important. This emphasis on prediction results in a closed circle, a unidimensional scale which ignores the variety of human talent; (4) it is best to place all good students in a given college; and (5) a successful high school student will be a successful adult. As more high school graduates seek further education, the author believes admissions should be viewed as "a social process by which the society moves a large segment of its youth into a wide range of educational experience."

41. Trow, Martin, "Reflections on the Transition from Mass to Universal Higher Education, *Daedalus 99,* Winter 1970.

The author recognizes a trend from mass to universal higher education, i.e., a system in which colleges and universities are responsible for nearly all of the college age population. This development carries with it the problems of "involuntary" students who attend college because of personal and social pressures rather than a commitment to the traditional academic concerns of the university. This lack of cohesion leads to much of the conflict that is currently evident on the campus today. As a result of the movement toward universal higher education, Trow foresees: increased political repression against the universities; a movement of scholars to research centers; and alternative forms of undergraduate education, including "nonacademic learning" organized and supported by colleges and universities—perhaps "the most important innovation." (See also 5).

42. Willingham, Warren W., *Educational Opportunity and the Organization of Higher Education.* Paper presented at the College Board colloquium on "Barriers to Higher Education." June 1970. ED 043 276. MF-$0.65, HC-$3.29.

The author is concerned with the current understanding of educational opportunity and its implications for the future organization of higher education (see also 5). He cites the growing acceptance of higher education as a right rather than a privilege and points out that the meaning of opportunity has developed from the belief that the availability of an inexpensive institution in a state is sufficient to a concept that includes: (1) lack of artificial barriers such as money or geographical location; (2) equal access as measured by common social indicators, e.g., race or class; and (3) "the implication of public responsibility to identify and alleviate barriers to universal access." Current discussions reflect this understanding in their concern with the question of minority representation and the social problems related to it; the role of the selective institution; and the extension of useful educational opportunity to a wider postsecondary audience. The author identifies seven major issues involved in organizing higher education to expand opportunity. These include: (1) debate over the functions of higher education—whether a scholastic or a societal system should be developed; and (2) the problem of making higher education universally available without making

attendance compulsory through a range of offerings adapted for a new student population. Questions of curricular content, local or regional institutions, degree of public control, financing, and access criteria are related to these issues.

Dr. Willingham briefly discusses accessibility of higher education nationally and on a state level.

43. Willingham, Warren W., *Free-Access Higher Education* New York: College Entrance Examination Board, 1970.

The author examines the accessibility of colleges nationally and state-by-state. Recent developments in the area of college admissions have helped to reshape the description of the college student and redefine the concept of accessibility–the relationship between proximity, cost, and selectivity. These trends include: (1) the trend toward universal higher education; (2) a more democratic concept of admission; (3) "accelerating public expectations," including the belief that postsecondary education is a right not a privilege; (4) the assumption of public responsibility for higher education; and (5) growing research on access to higher education. These trends indicate that the scholastic philosophy of admissions is changing to a societal view where the college must adjust to the student's characteristics and needs rather than impose its requirements. Once limited to the community college, this new emphasis is now being applied to all public postsecondary education.

The author concludes that simply opening the doors to traditional higher education will not satisfy the demand for more schooling. Means must be found to make postsecondary education "relevant" on several levels, thereby providing real equality of educational opportunity.